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0. Introduction*

It has long been known that the Old Persian imperfect survived into Middle Persian. W. B. Henning showed in his pioneering and fundamental article on the Middle Iranian languages written in 1956 and published in 1958 (p. 102) that the inscriptions of the high priest Kerdīr, dating from about 270 CE, contain the form **kyhydy /akīrīy/*, the direct descendant of Old Persian *akariya* "was made." He also showed (ibid.) that three forms without augment but used parallel with *akīrīy* must also be imperfects: *gugānīh*, *wišobīh*, and *abzāyīh*.

No other verbal forms in the inscriptions could until recently be proved to be genuine imperfects, although the suggestion was made that the phonetic complement *-d* in the 3rd singular might be a way of spelling the imperfect passive ending *-īy*². In Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian the only imperfect forms were those of the verb "to be."

In the above-mentioned article (p. 101) Henning also drew attention to several *active* verbs used in the same context as the passive imperfects, which, although formally coinciding with presents, he proposed should actually be interpreted as imperfects.

In an article published in 1989 (pp. 333-54) I basically repeated Henning's arguments, and as I, like Henning, was unable to demonstrate any formal distinction between such active forms used as imperfects and regular present forms, I assumed provisionally they were presents used as "historical" presents.

In about 1986, however, a new Middle Persian inscription, the "inscription of Abnūn," was discovered, which has completely changed the situation.³ The inscription dates from the reign of king Šābuhr I and is one of the earliest known Sasanian inscriptions. In it we have a series of verbal forms that are clearly 1st singular and past tense but end in *-n* in the heterograms (ideograms) and *-yn /-ēn/* in the phonetically written forms. In view of these forms a new investigation of the whole question of imperfects and passives in Middle Persian and Parthian seemed in order.

1. Past tenses in the Sasanian inscriptions

In my 1989 article I endeavored to show that the distribution of the passive imperfects and the active forms used parallel with them is different from that of the preterite (or "simple

* My colleague Professor Calvert Watkins kindly read a draft of this article and suggested a number of improvements and corrections for which I am grateful.

1. The quantity of the stem vowel was probably short *i*, cf. *kīry* = *kylyt/kīrēd* "is (being) done."

2. Brunner, 1977, p. 264; Ulas, 1974, p. 104.

3. First published by Tavoosi-Frye, 1989; see Skjærvø, 1992.

preterite" or "simple past tense," as I have usually called it), that is, constructions of the type *šud hēnd* "they went" and *man kard* "I did." In this article (pp. 347-48) I showed that Kerdīr's narrative has two parts, in the first of which he describes how he rose to power under four successive kings, the kings being the principal actors, but in the second his own activities, with himself as the principal actor. In the first part the preterite is confined to *subordinate clauses*; in the second part *only* preterites are used (with one exception). This use of the tenses by and large corresponds to the usage in Old Persian, where the imperfect is used to describe events in an historical perspective (whether durative or instantaneous) continuing both the Old Iranian imperfect and aorist, whereas the perfect tense (*manā kartam*) is used to sum up or view something as an accomplished fact.⁴ The two tenses correspond more or less to the English imperfect and perfect: "He did" vs. "I have done."

The remaining Middle Persian and Parthian inscriptions, including the newly found Middle Persian inscription of Abnūn and the Parthian Heracles inscription (see end of this article), fill out the picture gained from Kerdīr's inscriptions to some extent, and I now think that the use of the tenses can be defined as follows:

the imperfect and/or narrative present is used in main and subordinate clauses (especially temporal clauses) to describe a sequence of events that took place in the past, while the "simple preterite" is used in main and subordinate clauses to express anteriority, that is, an action viewed as completed with respect to the present or with respect to a past or future event.

2. The first person singular imperfect active in the Middle Persian inscriptions

The 1st singular imperfects in the inscription of Abnūn referred to above are the following:

plm'āyn /**framāyēn*/, cf. Old Persian *frāmāyātā* "he ordered"
OŠMēn /**āšnawēn*/, cf. Old Persian *āšnava-*, *āšnau-* "to hear"
p'īfwjyhyn /**pādwhēhēn*/, cf. Old Persian *pati-yavahayaiy* "I pleaded"
YTYBWNn /**nišāyēn*/, cf. Old Persian *niyašādayam*, *nišādayam* "I founded"
OBYD[*WNn*] /**kunēn*/, cf. Old Persian *akunavam*, *akunavaya*-tā "I, they did"

The heterograms in *-n* contrast with the 1st singular subjunctive in *-n* found in *YTYBWN'n* /**nišāyān*/ "I shall found," and I believe it is quite safe to conclude that they are the descendants of the Old Persian 1st person active imperfect.

Different interpretations of the forms were recently proposed by D. N. MacKenzie (see section 10, below). I must therefore emphasize that the *readings* of the forms are, in my

opinion, beyond doubt, as can be clearly see from the photographs, of which details are reproduced here with the kind permission of Carol Bromberg, the editor of the *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*. There are, unfortunately, few other instances of the group *yn* in the inscription, but in the other occurrences of the ending *-yn* (cf. Plate 1 no. D) the shapes of the letters are different from the sometimes disjointed *t*'s scattered throughout the inscription (cf. Plate 1 no. G). Note especially the difference between the *yn* in *plm'āyn* and the *t* in *plm't* (cf. Plate 1 nos. A-B). In *p'īfwjyhyn* the two *y*'s are identical (cf. Plate 1 no. C). Note also that in *yn* the bottom tip of the *y* is approximately centered above the bottom stroke of the *n*.

The verbal forms in the inscription of Abnūn are thus the following:

Imperfect

ud framāyēn
 "and I ordered"
pas ka ... Hrōmāy abar Pārs ud Pahlaw āyēnd (YATWNd)
 "And then ... when the Romans came against Persia and Parthia ..."
*pas an ēdar pad *Wišpšād pad ... *ānān (H(WY)[TNn])⁵*
 "Then I was here at *Wišpšād ..."
pas kū āšnawēn kū Hrōmāy āyēnd pas an yazdān pādwhēhēn
 "Then, when I heard that the Romans were coming (or: heard: 'The Romans are coming'), then I prayed to the gods."
pas kū āšnawēn kū Hrōmāy rastīd hēnd
 "Then, when I heard that the Romans had arrived ..."
*[pas ēn ādur] *ēdar nišāyēn u-š *Panā-Šābuhr-Abnūn nām *kunēn*
 "[Then] I founded here [this fire] and named it 'Abnūn whose refuge' is with Šābuhr."

Preterite

ēn ādurgāh Abnūn ... framād kē kard
 "(As for) this fire altar, Abnūn ordered (somebody) who made (it)."
pas kū āšnawēn (OŠMēn) kū Hrōmāy rastīd hēnd ud Šābuhr t šāhān šāh zad hēnd u-š watar kard [hēnd]
 "Then, when I heard that the Romans had arrived and that Šābuhr king of kings had struck them (down) and that he had worsted them ..."

We see that the imperfect is the narrative tense, used for enumerating events that took place sequentially in the past. The preterite is used 1) in the introductory main clause to state

5. MacKenzie (1993) reads *YHWWNm* with the preceding *y*, which I regard as the final letter of the preceding word. Only the letters *y h* are clear.

6. Reading *pn'*. This reading is not certain; perhaps *pln'*.

4. Cf. Lazard, 1976, pp. 184-86.

that Abnūn was the one who had ordered the fire altar to be made, and 2) in a subordinate clause in which an action is viewed as having been completed at the time of the action of the verb of the main clause.

An example of the 1st singular imperfect, rather than subjunctive, in another inscription may be seen in the following sentence:

KNRm/KSM 52/27-28 [ud ān-ōwōn ēlīyōn *man az aht ōrōn p[aywahūd u]-m yazdān ranj ud ōwām widārd ōwōn-iz parrōn ō widar[dān rōn] tis andar wehwar ud wistāxtar bowēn (YHWWN⁷/YHWWNn) kū anī [kas]

"And just as I (had) prayed from the beginning and (as) I (had) endured toil and hardship for the gods, thus, too, I became better and more confident in the matters pertaining to the beyond to the side of the departed than other persons."

On the history of the 1st singular imperfect ending -ēn, see the end of section 6, below.

3. The imperfect of "to be" in Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian

In Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian no passive imperfect forms have survived. Instead these languages have preserved the imperfect of the verb "to be": Middle Persian 3rd singular *anād*, 3rd plural *anānd*, and Parthian 3rd singular *ahāz*.⁸

The use of these imperfect forms in Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian is illustrated by the following examples:

Middle Persian anād and anānd

Copula

Šāb. eschat., lines 540-541⁹ *kē az fradom abāg *Ohrmezd ud yazdān drīst anād*

"which from the first was right with Ohrmezd and the gods" (after MacKenzie).

BT 4, lines 513-516 *harwispān wazurg šādth būd u-š harw padīš gaš anānd*

"For all there was great joy and they were all proud of it."

BT 4, lines 755-762 *ud kē *xēzendag ud drīst anānd u-šān az ēr passazag būd bastan hān-iš pad barn taxt hēnd uš andar *zamīg bast hēnd*

"And those who were crawling about and (were) healthy and who it was befitting to bind below, those he drove into prison and and bound inside the earth."

7. Here KNRm has only HWYTN, which is probably merely a scribal error, cf. below note 13 and Skjærvø, 1983 [1985], p. 279 §10 note b.

8. On Manichean Parthian *ahāz* see section 9, below.

9. For exact readings see the individual editions.

Šāb. cosm., lines 283-294 *pas awēšān dēwān ud partigān xešmān mazarān ud *āsarēštārān¹⁰ t māyag anānd dōpāy ud tashāy ... harw kē az aht az dōšox ābus anānd, ud pas ... bast būd hēnd ...*

"Then those demons and witches, (demons of) wrath, mazans and *āsarēštārs who were female, bipeds and quadrupeds ... all those who from the beginning were pregnant from hell, they were then bound ..."

Auxiliary

Šāb. cosm., lines 947-949 *ud hān dēswēs t-šān paymōxt anād ...*

"that *form [Henning: "Gemisch, Mannigfaches"; Boyce: "mixture, multifariousness"], which they had donned ...";

cf. Šāb. cosm., lines 959-964 *ud az hān rōšnī ud xwašn tē yazdān t az bār ud ēwār hān zahag t mazarān amixt būd ...*

"And of that light and beauty of the gods, which through fruits and *buds had been mixed with that offspring of the Mazan (demons) ..."

Šāb. cosm., lines 1029-1031 *ud hān Āz t-šān pahikand anād ...*

"And that Āz, which had filled them [the two āsarēštārs] ..."

MM ii, p. 33 [324] n. 7 *ud senān xwandagān wazurgān ... t az senān *xwadayāhān naxwistānān būd anānd*

"And the three great called ones, ... who had been (created) from the three primeval *masters(?)."

S 13 a6 + S 9 a4-8 *sīrīd anād Āz ... u-š az nas tē dēwān ud az rēm t ārušān kird anād ēn nasāh ...*

Āz had been angered ... and from the impurity of the demons and from the filth of the she-demons she had made this corpse ..."

S 9 a31-b2 [pas] *Ohrmezd t [xwadāy] abaxšāyīd-uš [abar] gyānān ud pad [dēs t?] mardōhmān ōxist anād frōd ō zamīg ...*

"Then the Lord Ohrmezd pitied the souls, and in [the shape?] of mankind he had come down upon the earth ..."

S 9 b8-24 *taxtthāy-uš kird paydāg kā ēn nasāh t pidēn nē Ohrmezd tē xwadāy kird u-š nē-iz gyān wxad bast anād, ztr gyān tē nēwbaxt ristāhēz-iš būd anād wurrōyist-uš dānišn t Ohrmezd t nēw xwadāy, harwisp-iš andarz ud framān ud muhr t xwašn wizištthā padīrīft anād*

"Quickly he revealed that the Lord Ohrmezd (had) not made this fleshy corpse and had not himself bound the soul (in it); his wise, fortunate, soul had obtained resurrection,

10. In a paper read at the Manichean conference in Rende-Cosenza Summer 1993 Peter Zieme showed that the Old Turkish equivalent of this word is "chief." The word may therefore have to be analyzed as *ā-sar-ēštar* "standing at the head," with the same "ending" -ēštar as in *arēštār* "soldier" (< Avestan *rašaēštār* - "charioteer"; cf. also Persian *sardār* "chief," and *sarhang* "colonel").

(had) believed in the knowledge of Ohrmezd, the good lord; every commandment and command and seal of virtue he had zealously accepted."

BT 4, lines 1396-98 *ka pa[d dwy?] ud jādūgt payrā[st] anād ...*

"When it had been adorned with [deceit?] and sorcery ..."

BT 4, lines 496-503 *eg awēšan wispān zūrān kē pad hān zahag hāmbahr būd hēnd, u-šan xwēbaš zahag ud hannām ō ōy dād anād harw frāz harruft hēnd*

"Then all these powers who had a part in that progeny and who had given their own progeny and limbs to it, all were assembled."

Manichean Parthian *ahāz*

Copula

BT 11, lines 83-84 *mird ēw ahāz *ud haft puhr būd*

"There was a man, and he had three sons."

BT 11, lines 1581-83 *biā Šābuhr šāhān šāh brād būd Mēšān xwadāy ud Mihršāh nām ahāz* "Further, Šābuhr, king of kings, had a brother, the Lord of Mēšun, and his name was Mihršāh."

BT 11, lines 1589-90 *parwān Mihršāh šud kē pad bōdīstān pad bāzm ahāz pad wazurg šadft*

"He went before Mihršāh, who was at a banquet making merry in the garden."

*Huyadag-mān I 23 garānft ud ambāhag nē ast pad hawīn *tanbār ud wigān nē ahāz pad harwīn *handām*

"Heaviness and drooping do not exist in their bodies, and there was (has been) no damage to any of (their) limbs."

Auxiliary

Angad rōšnān VII 1 maran kaft ahāz ud yōbahr abnaft

"Death had fallen and sickness departed."

*Sadwēs and Pēsūs 6 ō abarīn nē paryābād ud āz padrāst būd ahāz *pargūdag*

"He had not attained to the higher and had been bereft of what he had achieved" (after Boyce).

4. The interpretation of Middle Persian HWYTN, Parthian HWE

The discovery of the 1st singular imperfect ending *-n* has far-reaching consequences for the interpretation of the Middle Persian heterogram *HWYTN* = Parthian *HWE*, the

meaning of which is clearly "to be."¹¹ There is another heterogram for "to be," however, namely Middle Persian *HWE*, and it has so far not been possible to explain plausibly why there should be two different sets of heterograms for this particular verb. As, however, the verb "to be" is the only verb known to use different heterograms in both Middle Persian and Parthian to denote different stems of the copula—see the table below—, it would seem logical that *HWYTN*- and Parthian *HWE* expressed different stems of the copula as well. We shall see that this is indeed the case.

Middle Persian

HWE = *h-* "am, etc."

HWEnd (?)¹² "they are"

AYTY = *ast* "(there) is"

LOYTY = *nēst* "(there) is not"

Parthian

HWY(E)- = *ah-*

HWYN = *(a?)hēnd*

AYTY = *ast*

(LA AYTY = nē ast)

As we shall see in a moment, all the contexts in which *HWYTN*- and Parthian *HWE*- are used are clearly in the past, and the use of the forms agrees completely with that of *anād*, etc., quoted above. From my student days I therefore always felt very strongly that *HWYTN* ought to correspond to *anād*. The principal obstacle to interpreting all these forms as imperfects was the form *HWYTNn* in KKZ 1. As no other ending *-n* than that of the 1st subjunctive was known from Middle Persian and Parthian, *HWYTNn* had to be interpreted "I shall be." The conclusion seemed inescapable that *HWYTNn* was synonymous with *HWEn*, both being for *hān* "I shall be."

A different attempt to resolve the dilemma was made by MacKenzie (1984). He proposed to see in *HWYTN*-/ *HWE*- forms of the auxiliary Middle Persian *ist*-/Parthian *išt*-. The main problem with his interpretation was that these verbs, when used as auxiliaries in Middle Persian or Parthian, form the present or past perfect (not, however, narrative pluperfects = past preterites), that is, intransitive forms denoting a state resulting from an action or process, the well-known function of such forms, cf. the following examples of the present perfect in the Middle Persian and Parthian inscriptions and the Pahlavi *Psalter* (exhaustive list) and select Manichean texts:

The present perfect in Middle Persian

ŠKZ Mid. Pers. 27 *ud nāmčīšt pad nibīšt abar stān nibīšt ištēd* (or: *ēstēd*, here and in the following)

"And (it) is written specifically in the inscription on the *stān*."

KKZ 5 *ōy ēd-ōwōn abar nibīšt ištēd/istād*

11. Cf. Sprengling, 1953, p. 204; Ulas, 1974, pp. 105-107; Skjærvø in Humbach-Skjærvø 1983, pt. 3.2, pp.24-25.

12. Rather than *HWEnd*, as the phonetic complement of the 3rd plur. is regularly only *-d*?

"On it was written as follows."

NPi 15/13 *ō ēn *gyāg [rasēm kū] ēn pillag kird istēd*

"We came to this place where this monument has been made."

*Psalter 118.142 *arādyth rāst ud winnird istād *jāwēdān (LOLMYN)*

"Righteousness will remain true and ordered for ever" (Syr. *zaddiqutā qāymā lə. 'ālam*).

ŠPs II 3 *ēd nāmāg čē az abar nibišt istēd*

"This inscription which is written above ..."

Šāb. cosm., lines 194-197 ud hān-iz t andar zamīg ud āsmān ... parzīd istēd

"And that which is imprisoned in ... earth and heaven"

Šāb. cosm., lines 682-685 t pad ōy ham āstānag t naxustēn passāxt istēd

"which are fitted into that first threshold ..."

Šāb. cosm., lines 1190-1191 kē šahr padīš winnird istēd

"... with which the world is arranged."

MM ii, p. 9 [300] amēxt ud passāxt [ud] bast istēd

"... is mixed and fitted into and bound" (of the soul in the body).

MM ii, p. 8 [299] ud ka čē'ōnū ud gōhr t gyān andar ēn nibēg pad was gyāg paydāgēnīd istēd

"And since the quality and essence of the soul has been revealed in many places in this book ..."

The present perfect in Parthian

ŠKZ Parth. 22 *ēd nibišt istēd*

"They are written here." Gk 53 καὶ ἐνθαυδε ἐνγεγραπται καὶ συνεστήκεν.

NPi 17/15 Mid. Pers. [...] **istēd = Parth. ēd handēman bawēnd kū im pillag kerd [istēd]*

"Here they came into (Our) presence where this monument has been made."

MM iii, text g, line 100 wimēxt istām

"I am in a state of mixture."

MM iii, text g, line 91 garān mastift kū xuft istēh

"Heavy (is) the drunkenness in which you are sleeping."

*BT 11, lines 1880-81 čē pad hawīn panj padmōžan *pawāgān padmōxt istēd*

"... who is dressed in the five pure garments."

BT 11, line 1909 [... pad] im aβδēn wihaxt istād? u-š niftīd

"[And (now) that he] had been pulled away in this fashion, [(then he) cursed (it?).]"

BT 11, lines 1942-43 parwān man aweštenād kaδ wirāšt istēd pad šahrδārān brahm aβδēn "... was made to stand before me, as (when) it is adorned in regal fashion of garb."

As we see, in the inscriptions and in the Manichean texts there are no examples of the present perfect with an ergative construction. The only possible exception is the following:

KNRb 24-25 *u-m was xwēš nām ... abar gad pādaxšahr ud *mādayān nibišt istēd/istād*

"and the many ... of(?) my name was written on various documents" or: "and I had written ..."

But here the function of the enclitic pronoun *-m* is ambiguous, as it can also be, and probably is, the possessive pronoun. No doubt this kind of construction helped introduce the ergative construction into the perfect, as regularly found in Book Pahlavi.

A different explanation is therefore needed for *HWYTN-*. The form *HWYTNn* is used as copula in the introductory sentence of the inscriptions of Kerdīr (KKZ, KNRm, KSM):

KKZ 1 *ud an Kerdīr t mowbed yazdān ud Ardashahr šāhān šāh ud Šābuhr šāhān šāh huparistā ud hukāmag HWYTNn*¹³

"I, Kerdīr, *was obedient and well disposed toward the gods and Ardashēr, king of kings, and Šābuhr, king of kings."¹⁴

Here the meaning "I shall be" (MacKenzie: "shall (continue to) be") is not impossible, although a bit awkward. At the beginning of the inscription Kerdīr describes his relationship with the gods and the kings Ardashēr and Šābuhr, saying, with the traditional interpretation of *HWYTNn*, "I Kerdīr, may I be (or: I shall be) obedient and well disposed toward the gods and Ardashēr, king of kings, and Šābuhr, king of kings." It is, however, somewhat strange for Kerdīr to promise to be obedient to Ardashēr and Šābuhr, who were both long dead at this time. Now that *-n* has been shown to be the ending of the 1st singular imperfect we see that the meaning "I was" or "I have been" fits the context perfectly. Clearly Kerdīr is saying what we would expect him to say, namely that he was or *had been* obedient to these former kings.

In the same sentence we also have the form *HWYTNt* with phonetic complement *-t*, used as an auxiliary:

KKZ 1 *u-m pad an spās t-m pad yazdān ud Ardashahr šāhān šāh ud Šābuhr šāhān šāh kerd HWYTNt* (var. *HWYTN*) *an-im kawē(d) (OBYDWN) Šābuhr ...*

"And for that service which I had done toward the gods and Ardashēr, etc., Šābuhr, king of kings, made me absolute and authoritative ..."

A modest statement such as "And for that service that I *may have* done (*t-m kerd HWYTNt*) toward the gods and Ardashēr, etc., for that Šābuhr, king of kings, made me absolute and authoritative in the rites of the gods," is in stark contrast to the preceding

13. KSM has only *HWYTN*, which is probably merely a scribal error, cf. above note 7 and Skjærvø, 1983 [1985], p. 279 §10 note b.

14. Cf. the subjunctive in KNRm/KSM 57/33 *ardā(y) hān (HWEñ)* "may I be righteous!" or: "(so that) I may be righteous"; KNRm/KSM 55/30, 57/32, 57/33 *agar drowand hān (HWEñ)* "if I am (turn out to be) evil."

statement just quoted. If we interpret *HWYTN*_i as imperfect, however, we get excellent sense: "And for that service which I *had* done toward the gods and Ardašēr, etc., for that Šābuhr, king of kings, made me absolute and authoritative ..."

The remaining examples of *HWYTN*, Parthian *HWE* are the following:

Copula

NPi 2 Mid. Pers. [amāh?] *Arminān šāh HWYTNm ud Armin pahr[ist hēm]* (or: *pahr[ezom]* "[We, i.e., the king] were king of Armenia. And We were staying in Armenia [when ...]" (or: "We stayed in Armenia [until ...]").

NPi 4/4 Mid. Pers. *ud pārs ud pahl[aw ... Asūrest]ān pad pahrāg H[HWYTN] ān anjāman kunēnd*

Parth. [...] *Asūristān pad pahrāg [HWEnt ...] hanjāman karēnd*

"And the Persians and the Parthians [and whoever else] was [Parthian: were] at the border of Asuristan, they made an assembly ..."

NPi 7/6 Mid. Pers. *kē-n xān(ag) bandag mahist ud pahlom ud tōmīgītom HWYTNi*

Parth. *kē-n [...] tōmīgīstar HWEnt*

"... whoever was [Parthian: were] the greatest and most outstanding and most illustrious subject of Our house ..."

NPi 9/8 Mid. Pers. *ud marzīg ud kōfār ud ant pādgoš kē pešē *uzmān HWYTNi*

Parth. *ud marzīg ud kōfār ud ant [...] HWE*

"And the border people and the mountain dwellers and the other districts that had been *proven before ..."

Auxiliary

NPi 19-20/17-18

Mid. Pers. [ud *Ādur*]farnbay i *Mešān šāh ...] dād HWYTN*

Parth. *ud Ādurfar[nšay Mešān] šāh čwāyōn *drōžan wad dād HWE*

"And Ādurfarnbay, king of Mešān, as the evil *liar he had been made ..." (or: "because he had been created (as) an evil liar")

NPi 34/31 Mid. Pers. ... *xwādāy ān bawād (YHWWN) kē yazdān *nisaxt [HWYTN-?]*

Parth. [...] *kē yazadān nisaxt HWE*

"... he shall/should be king whom the gods have/had prepared."

I think there can be little doubt that these heterograms correspond to the Manichean forms discussed above. Thus *HWYTN/HWYTNi* = *anād* and Parthian *HWE/HWE* = *ahāz*.

I have explained elsewhere how I think the Middle Persian and the Parthian forms are descended from Old Iranian.¹⁵ My original explanation may now have to be slightly modified in the light of the new evidence for the 1st singular imperfect.

15. Skjærvø, 1986, p. 428; 1991.

The development of Old Persian *āham* is uncertain, depending upon the treatment of final (originally uncovered) *-m*. The form must first have resulted in **ām*. Parallels from other languages suggest that this may have become **ān* directly, cf. Latin *rem* > French *rien*.¹⁶ Within Middle Persian one could, by such an assumption, derive the Middle Persian demonstrative pronoun *ēn* "this" directly from Old Persian *ayam*.¹⁷ Whether this **ān* survived in Middle Persian or was remade into **ānān* we can not tell.

The Manichean Middle Persian forms I originally suggested may be new formations built upon the old 3 plural forms **ān* < Old Persian *āha* and **ānd* < Old Persian *āha*-*tā*. To this should now be added that the 1st singular and 3rd plural may originally have coincided,¹⁸ which must have strengthened the need for differentiation.

The 1st plural may similarly have been **ām* → **anām*.

The Parthian 3rd plural *HWEnt* presumably represents **ahānd*, a form that, as far as I have been able to verify, is absent from the published Manichean Parthian corpus. On the 3rd singular *ahāz* see below.

The suggested developments are set out in the table below:

	Old Persian	Middle Persian	Parthian
Singular			
1 <i>āham</i> >		* <i>ān</i> → * <i>ānān</i> ?	
3 <i>āha</i> >		* <i>ā</i> * <i>āδ</i> → * <i>ah-āδ</i>	→ <i>ahāz</i>
* <i>āhatā</i> >		* <i>ād</i> → <i>ān-ād</i>	* <i>ād</i>
Plural			
1 * <i>āma</i> (?) >		* <i>ām</i> → * <i>ān-ām</i> ?	
3 <i>āha</i> >		* <i>ān</i> → <i>ān-ānd</i>	* <i>ān</i>
<i>āha</i> - <i>tā</i> >		* <i>ānd</i> → <i>ān-ānd</i>	* <i>ānd</i> → * <i>ah-ānd</i>

Recently F. de Blois (1993, p. 376) criticized my explanation of the forms *anād* and *anānd* as being "dreadfully complicated."¹⁹ In reality I assumed only two simple analogical processes, for both of which there are parallels in other languages:

1) With the replacement of monosyllabic 3rd plurals **ān* and **ānd* by the combined form **anānd* to preserve the characteristic third plural ending and to avoid the short forms we may compare the development in Latin, where final *-nt* also became *-n*, which was replaced

16. Also Latin *sum* > **sun* > Ital. *sono*; *quem* > Spanish *quien*; *cum* > Italian, Spanish *con*; *meum* > French *mien*. Until this possibility has been explored more closely I think the notorious interchange of *-n* and *-m* in Avestan following *q* (*-q* ~ *-qn* ~ *-qm*) should be kept aside, as also the occasional interchange in Middle Persian and Modern Persian (dialects) of final *n* and *m*. A similar, but different process is seen in Avestan, where **yan* > **yun* > *-um* in *ašdum* "o righteous one," *yum* "o youth," with labial assimilation to the preceding *yū*.

17. Differently Klingenschmitt, 1972.

18. Cf. Italian *son(o)* < *sum* and *sunt*.

19. De Blois also criticizes, rightly, my unintended contention that **āhat* would become Mid. Pers. *ād*. It was a regrettable *lapsus*.

by *-nt* in the standard language. In some archaic texts, however, we find forms such as *danunt*, which is obviously from **dan* with the addition of the regular 3rd plural ending.²⁰

2) The reinterpretation of *ān-* as stem and *-ānd* as ending and analogical transformation of the 3rd singular **ā* and **ād* to *ān-ād* (with subsequent shortening of the initial *ā-* > *a-*) have several parallels:

For the analogical transformation note the following example. The Indo-Iranian 3rd singular imperfect of "to be" was **ās-t*, which lost its final *-t* in both Indian and Iranian and was preserved in Avestan as *ās* or *as* but was changed in Indian to *āsī*. In Old Persian, where final consonants other than *m* and *š* were lost and final consonant groups are not found at all, the outcome of **ās* must have been *ā*.²¹ This was replaced with *āha* by analogy with the 3rd plural *āha* according to the proportion *abara* (3rd plur.) : *abara* (3rd sing.) = *āha* (3rd plur.) : *X* (3rd sing.) = *X* = *āha*.²²

For the ability of the 3rd plural to provide the basis for the reshaping of other forms, note the following examples. In Middle Persian the entire present paradigm of "to be," with the exception of the 3rd singular indicative, was rebuilt on the model of the 3rd plural: *h-and* ⇒ *h-am*, etc. In Spanish the 2nd plural was remodeled after the 1st and 3rd plural (*somos*, *son* ⇒ *sois*) in Italian also the 2nd singular and plural (*sei*, *siete*). In Gothic the 3rd plural provided the model for the 1st and 2nd plural: *si-nd* ⇒ *sijum*, *sijuts*. Note also Modern Persian *hast-am* "I am," etc., and Manichean Parthian *ast ahēnd* "there are," which was formed by reinterpretation of *ast* "there is" as *ast-Ø*, where *Ø* is the normal form of the 3rd singular of the copula. Note, finally, the development (through sound changes and analogies) of the stem *su-* in Latin *su-m*, *su-mus*, *su-ni*, and the stem *er-* in Old Norse *er-um*, *er-ut*, *er-u* "we are, etc." and eventually *es* "is" ⇒ *er*.

Parthian *ahāz*

The Parthian form *ahāz* (and the similar Sogdian form *axāz*) is more difficult to explain. The "normal" development of Old Iranian **āz* is seen in the 3rd singular subjunctive. In the Parthian inscriptions this form had the regular ending *-ywd* or *-d*, that is *!-ād!* (cf. the spelling *HWEd* in the inscriptions, see below), the final consonant of which was lost in Manichean Parthian > *-d* or *-āh* (on Manichean Parthian *ahād* see below). The expected form of the 3rd singular imperfect in Manichean Parthian is thus **ā*, which was avoided for the same reason as the Middle Persian form.

I. Gershevitch (1975, pp. 201-202) proposed that the final *-z* of Parthian *ahāz*, Sogdian *axāz*, is the remnant of the particle *zī*, Avestan *zī*, reconstructing an ingenious story-introducing **āgha zī hanō** "There was an old man," to account for the frequency of

the combination needed to explain its later development into a single verbal form. This hypothesis is problematic, however.²³ The particle *zī* (Vedic *hi*) occupies the second place in the sentence, but the finite verb rarely occupies the first place in Old Iranian and only when topicalized (emphatic or solemn diction), as in OPers. *šāriy Dārayavaus*, Avestan *mraoē Ahurō Mazda*. Only one (?) example is found in the Avesta of "to be" + *zī*: Y.19.10 *asti zī auuauuaz uōdāta yaθa* ..., with the present tense *asti*. The function of *zī* (Vedic *hi*) is clearly to connect a statement to a previous statement as explanatory information. Gershevitch's **āgha zī hanō**, that is, the introductory sentence of a tale, does therefore not represent a typical use of *zī*. As a matter of fact, the actual form of this expression in Manichean Parthian is *mird ēw ahāz* (for an example see below), not **ahāz mird ēw**, and there are no examples of sentence-initial *ahāz*. Gershevitch's hypothesis can be saved, however, if we imagine an **āha zī* used in tales and parables in explanatory remarks and *asides* ("for this young man was really a prince," and similar).²⁴ The problem remains that the particle *zī* does not seem to have survived in any form anywhere else in Middle Iranian.²⁵

5. The phonetic complement *-d* in the third singular

The interpretation of the active forms in past contexts as historical presents, rather than as imperfects, is unproblematic, except for one detail. In Middle Persian the 3rd singular present indicative ends in *-ēd*, which according to the rules of Middle Persian orthography is spelled *-yt*, *-yty* (*-dy*) in phonetically written verbs and with the phonetic complement *-t* in heterograms, for instance, *whycyt /wihēzēd!* "he moves, goes," *kylyt, klyty /kirēd!* "it is done," *YHWWNt /bawēd!* "he becomes/became," *OBYDWNt /kūnēd!* "he does/did."

Beside forms with the phonetic complement *-t* we also find forms with no phonetic complement, which could easily be explained as more primitive forms to which *-t* was added later for the sake of clarity.

Beside the forms with the phonetic complements *-t* or *zero* we also find forms with the phonetic complement *-d*, however, and in exactly the same functions, namely, imperfect active: *OBYDWN-Ø/d/t* "he does/did";²⁶ imperfect passive: *YTYBWN-Ø/d/t* "was placed, founded" and *HTYMWN-Ø/d/t* "was sealed";²⁷ and "hortative": *yw YDOYTN-Ø/d*, *yw YHWWN-Ø/t*. Henning (1958, p. 101 bottom) mentioned that the forms in *-d* express past tense but did not try to explain them.

23. Cf. Skjærvø, 1991, p. 190.

24. Expressed in Middle Persian by *zē* or *ēd rāy zē* and in Parthian by *zē* or *az ēd rāz zē*.

25. Calvert Watkins points out to me that in Vedic Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra passages questions are frequently answered by verb + *hi* (see, e.g., the forth-coming book by Stephanie Jamison *Sacrificer's Wife, Sacrificed Wife* for examples).

26. This is also the phonetic complement for the 3rd plural endings in *-nd*.

27. The preterite of *YTYBWN-* "to found" is *nš'sty* and of *YTYBWN-* "to sit (down)" *YTYBWNst* in the inscriptions of Kerdīr (cf. Skjærvø 1989, p. 336).

20. See, e.g., Palmer, 1961, p. 264. Calvert Watkins kindly reminded me of these forms during the discussion. Compare also the conflation of endings seen in Latin *fu-er-unt*, Ind. *aduh-ra-n*, etc.

21. The Old Iranian perfect **āha* would also become **a*.

22. Stephanie Jamison reminded me during the discussion that the thematization of athematic verbs in IndoIranian also probably spread from the 3rd plural.

By the conventions of Middle Persian orthography a phonetic complement *-d* ought to correspond to the ending *-ydy* in phonetically written forms: *-d* ~ **-yd/*-ydy* like *-t* ~ *-yt* / *-yty*.

The ending *-ydy* is not attested in the inscriptions outside of the passive imperfect, but in the Pahlavi *Psalter*, which is written in a slightly more developed variant of the script used in the inscriptions, this ending is used for the 2nd singular ending *-ē* in the heterogram *NILWNydy* / *lpdyē*, with which we can compare the *Psalter* form *HWEd* / *hē*, 3rd singular optative "(if) he had (not) been." No convincing interpretation of the use of the phonetic complement *-d* in the 3rd singular was found for a long time. B. Utaš (p. 88) and C. Brunner (pp. 264, 268) both analyzed the "hortative" forms in *-d* as optatives, but with no other justification than the ending. In an article from 1985, in which I surveyed the Old Persian verbal system and its development into Middle Persian, I did nothing more than suggest that its use with "historical" presents could have originated in imperfects ending in *-ē*, descendants of the Old Persian preterital optative.

6. The history of the Old Persian endings of the 3rd singular

In view of the recent discoveries, however, we can look at the use of the phonetic complement *-d* in the 3rd singular in a different light. In order to do so let us first review the relevant Old Persian and Young Avestan functions and forms, as well as the postulated developments of these forms into early Middle Persian and Parthian.

Narrative past tenses

In Old Persian the narrative past tense is expressed by the inherited augmented imperfect with secondary endings. In addition there is an augmented optative, also with secondary endings, used to express habitual action in the past. The old aorist is present in remnants only, and its function is identical with that of the imperfect.

In Young Avestan the standard narrative past tense is the injunctive, that is, the same form as in Old Persian, but without the augment. Augmented imperfects and augmented optatives²⁸ are also found.

Passive

Passive function was expressed using either a special passive stem formed with the passive morpheme *-iya-* (Avestan *-iia-*) or the middle forms of transitive verbs, for instance, Old Persian *kariya-* "to be done, made" but *vainataiy* "is seen." Transitive verbs which formed passive stems could take either active or middle endings in their active function, for instance, *akunavaša* or *akunavata* "they did, made."

Imperatives and related forms

The Old Iranian imperative, injunctive, and optative were used in many similar functions: the imperative is the form regularly used in Avestan and Old Persian to express positive exhortation to the 3rd person;²⁹ the injunctive is the form regularly used in Avestan and Old Persian to express prohibition to the 3rd person;³⁰ and the optative is used in positive and negative sentences as prescriptive mood.³¹

The endings we have to consider are therefore the following (thematic *a-* and *aya-* stems)

	Old Iranian	Middle Persian	Parthian
Inj./imperf.3 sing.active	*-(ay)at	*-Ø, *ē	*-aδ, *-eδ
Opt.3.sing.active	*-(ay)aiū, *-(ay)aiš	*-ē	*-eδ
Inj./imperf.3 sing.middle	*-(ay)atā*	-ad, *-ēd	*-ad, *-ēd
Opt.3.sing.middle	*-(ay)aitā	*-ēd	*-ēd
Imperf.3 sing.passive	-iya	*-Ø(?) ³² , *-fy	?

We see that in Middle Persian the 3rd singular imperfect active and, probably, the "hortative," which incorporates the above-mentioned functions of the imperative, injunctive, and optative,³³ would both have alternating endings *-ē* and *-ēd* (and *zero*), while the 3rd singular imperfect passive would end in *-fy* or *-ēd* (from the middle). The phonetic complements apparently reflect these endings faithfully:

	ending	phonetic spelling	heterograms
Middle Persian	*-ē	*-ydy	-d
	*-fy	*-ydy	-d
	*-ēd	-yt	-t
Parthian	*-ēδ	-yd, -ywd	-d
	*-ēd	-yt, -ywt	-t

There is at least one example of *-d* that does not fit this description:

29. Kent, 1953, p. 90; Lazard, 1976, pp. 186-87; Kellens, 1984, p. 318.

30. Kent, 1953, p. 90; Lazard, 1976, p. 187; Kellens, 1984, p. 244.

31. Kent, 1953, p. 89; Lazard, 1976, p. 190; Kellens, 1984, p. 300.

32. If the ending was lost after heavy stem, see section 7, below.

33. Cf. Lazard, 1984, pp. 6-10; Skjærvø 1989, p. 347, where I suggested that the use of both *-t* and *-d* in heterograms used in this function may reflect different origins, imperatives and injunctives. We are to a certain extent brought back to Nyberg's (1974, p. 281) original suggestion that Parthian *-ywd* and *-d* and Brunner's (1977, pp. 264, 268) and Utaš's (1974, p. 88) suggestions that Mid. Pers. *-d* may all represent optative forms, although, as we have seen, this may not be the whole story.

28. See Hoffmann, 1976, II, pp. 605-19, for the Old Persian and Young Avestan examples.

ŠKZ Mid. Pers. 35 *kū kē pas amāh xwaddī bawād (YHWWN) ān yazdān huparistātar ud hukāmagtar *bawād (YHWWNd) kū ōy-iz yazd ēn-ōwōn hayār bawānd (YHWWNd) čīyōn man būd*

"So that he who will be king after Us may be of better service and better will toward the gods so that the gods may be his helpers in the same way they were mine."

The sentence is an anacoluth, as the *kū*-clause is not introduced by anything, but *YHWWNd* most probably represents a 3rd singular subjunctive. I have only *ad hoc* explanations to offer for this form. The corresponding Parthian differs considerably but has a subjunctive in the same position:

ŠKZ Parth. 29-30 *awās čwāyōn amāh abar yazdān tr ud kirdagān tuxšām (rwššywm) ud yazdān dastkerd hēm (HWYm) ud pad yazdān ašyāwari im āwend šahr wxāšt ud derd nām ud nēwif kerd haw-iz kē paš amāh bawād (YHYE) ud farrox ahād (HWYi) haw-iz abar yazdān tr ud kerdagān tuxšād (rwššywd) kū yazd ašyāwar bawānd (YHYEn) ud dastkerd karānd (OBDWnt)*

"Now, as We strive in the matters and services of the gods and are the *creatures of the gods and by the help of the gods have sought and obtained all these lands and made (for Ourselves) a name and (fame for) bravery (thus) may he too who will be after Us and may be fortunate, may he too strive in the matters and services of the gods so that the gods become his helpers and make (him their) *creature."

The value of the heterograms without phonetic complements cannot be determined, of course. The fact that the 3rd singular present indicative ending *-ēd* (or *-ad*) is regularly spelled with the phonetic complement *-t* and that the 3rd singular optative of "to be," *hē*,³⁴ is spelled without any phonetic complement (*HWE*) provides some support for interpreting them as not having the ending *-ēd* (*-ad*), but *ē*.

In Parthian *-d* is also used in the 2nd plural beside *-t*. The forms in *-t* are clearly from the secondary ending **(ay)aya* > **-ad*, **-ēd*. We also find 2nd plural *YHWE*d beside *pmwyw*.³⁵ It is barely conceivable that this *-d* reflects the middle ending *-adyam*, especially since *baw-* is not a middle verb. Instead one may want to consider the possibility that the primary ending *-(ay)aθa* might have become **-aθ*, **-ēθ* in Parthian.

We can now tabulate the Old Iranian forms of the 1st singular imperfect and preterital optative and their expected descendants (thematic *a-* and *aya-*stems):

34. At this stage I am even prepared to admit that Man. Mid. Pers. *hēb bēh* = Parth. *hēb bawēndē* "let him be" may be archaisms rather than analogies with *ōh bēh* and *ōh bawēndē* "Amen!" (cf. Skjærvø 1989, p. 341, n. 29).

35. NPi 43/40, Humbach-Skjærvø, 1983, pt. 3.1, p. 69.

Inj./imperf. 1 sing. active	*-(ay)am	>	*-Ø, *-ē(n?)
Opt. 1. sing. active	*-(ay)ayam	>	*-ē(n?)
Inj./imperf. 1 sing. middle	*-(ay)ai	>	*-Ø, *-ē
Opt. 1. sing. middle	*-(ay)aya	>	*-ē

As we see, the 1st singular of the Old Persian imperfect and/or preterital optative would develop very much like the 3d singular and result in *zero* or *-ē*. For understandable reasons it was remade by the addition of a final consonant. If Old Persian *āham* had become **ān*, as suggested above, then the final *-n* can be explained as analogy with this form. Otherwise, the choice of *-n* instead of *-m* as in the present indicative, may have been supported on one hand by the 1st singular subjunctive ending *-ān* (also a *non-indicative*) and, on the other, by the 1st singular pronoun *an* "I."³⁶

7. On the origin of the passive morphemes in Middle Persian

The passive imperfects found in the inscriptions are the following:

'klydy /*akirty*/ "was made" < Old Persian *akariya*
gwk'nyhy /*gugānth*/ "was destroyed" < Old Persian **viyakaniya*, cf. *viyakanam*
wyšwpyhy /*wišōbth*/ "was disturbed"³⁷
'pz'āyhy /*abzāyth*/ "was increased" < Old Persian **abiyaqāviya*, cf. *abiya* /*abījāvayam*

Differently from *akirty*, which is spelled with final *-dy*, we note that the other forms are spelled with final *-yhy*. Of these two endings *-dy* is reminiscent of the passive morpheme *-yd-* found in the Middle Persian *Psalter*, while *-yhy* is like the passive morpheme *-yh-* found in Manichean Middle Persian and in Book Pahlavi:

Pahlavi Psalter

'pswsydyndy /*afšōstyēnd*/ "they are mocked" < **afšōs-ēn-īdan* (denominative)
wcndydyndy /*wizandtyēnd*/ "they are made to tremble" < **wizand-ēn-īdan* (causative)

Manichean Middle Persian

d'nyhyd /*īdānthēd*/ "it becomes known" or "it is made known" (see below).

Cf. also the present indicative

kyhyt, *khyty* /*kīrēd*/ < Old Persian **kariyati*, cf. Avestan *kiritēti*.

The origin of these two endings are, I suspect, to be explained as follows.

36. Note also that stems in *-aya*, such as **zaya-* (cf. Kellens, 1984, pp. 137-38) would form 1st sing. imperf. forms of the type **azbayam* > **(a)zbēm*, which might originally have become **(a)zēn*. In Choresmian, where the imperfect was preserved into the Islamic period, the 1st singular also ends in *-in*.

37. Cf. Manichean BT 4, p. 32 lines 504-9 *pd* /*yn*/ *cy wyšwbyh*/ *d*/ "What will be destroyed through this?"

1) The passive morpheme *-ydy* of *'klydy* (*aktiry*) is from Old Persian *-iya*, which after a light syllable apparently became **-iya* and was contracted to *-fy*.³⁸ A parallel for this development is furnished by Old Persian *antiya*: presumably **āniya* > *āniya* > **aniya* > Middle Persian *anī*, spelled *'ny* in Manichean Middle Persian and frequently ZK'y, i.e., **anī'* (with *-y* < *-ydy* as in the 2nd singular verbal ending *-y* < *-ydy*).⁴⁰ The same development is seen in the descendants of Old Persian words in *-ahya*-, e.g., *why* /*waht*/ "better" (Manichean) beside *why* /*weh*/ < **vahayah*-, *dahitēd* "ruler of the country" beside *deh* "country" < *dahayau*-, *maht* "greater" beside *meh*.⁴¹ Note also Manichean *dwdy* /*dudī*/ "secondly, again" < *dūvitiyam*.

In addition, Old Persian stems in *t* and *d* may have had passive stems in *-fy*-, cf. Avestan *jūta* < *√jt*. Stems in *d* must have developed similarly in Middle Persian, e.g., **sidiā* > **sīy*-, **škadiā* > **šky*-, cf. *Psalter nšyd* /*ništy*-/ < **nišida*-. From all these various forms a passive morpheme *-fy*- was abstracted, written *-ydy*- according to the orthographic rules of Middle Persian (cf. *zyd'ny* /*zyān*/, Avestan *ziāni*-), whence the *Psalter* passives in *-ydy*-.

In view of the development of *martiya* > *merd*, *mard*, *šāh* < *xšāyašiya*, Manichean *xwēbaš* < **xwaipašiya*, Manichean *kamb*, Book Pahlavi *kem* < **kambiya*, as opposed to *aniya* > *anī*, it is quite possible that heavy passive stems lost their ending altogether. An Old Persian passive imperfect **abfjāvaya* (passive of *abfjāvaya*-, cf. *adāriya*-, passive of *adāriya*-) may thus have developed into early Middle Persian **abfjāw*, a form that may well have coincided with a 3rd singular active imperfect **abfjāw* < *abfjāvaya*. The passive function of these forms therefore needed to be clarified, and for reasons no longer clear to us the suffix *-yhy* was chosen.

2) The passive morpheme *-th*- presumably originated in the Old Persian passives of stems in surd dentals, e.g., **mišā* > **mth*-. I have found no examples in Middle Persian of descendants of such forms, but we should keep in mind that intervocalic *d* (*ḍ*) in Middle Persian sometimes became *ḥ*, as in Pahlavi *dah*- vs. Manichean Middle Persian *dy*-, which

38. Note the similar development in the suffix *-iyaka* > *-ika* (> Mid. Pers. *-ig*), thus **māriyaka*- became *marika*- etc. (cf. Hoffmann, 1975, II, p. 637 n. 25).

39. The reading of Man. *'ny* as *anī* (and of *hrw* as *harā*) was suggested by Bartholomae (1906, pp. 62-63, 113, cf. Hoffmann, 1975, II, p. 637 n. 26). The reading as *any* (e.g., MacKenzie, 1971) gives an unusual final consonant cluster (not so, however, in the case of *harā*/*harw*, cf. *sarw* "cypress"?). The Book Pahlavi spelling ZK'y (or only ZK: C. Salemann, in *GIP* I, p. 294) also strongly suggests that the original value of ZK was **an* < OPers. *anā* instr.-abl., homonymous with *an* "I" < *adam* and eventually with *an* < *anī* "other." The replacement of **an* with a cumulative **haw/hā* + **an* (?) > *hān* (> *ān*), with a long vowel like its near demonstrative companions *ēn* (< **aiṇa*- or directly from *ayam*, as suggested above) and *ēd* (< **aiṇa*), would thus be understandable (differently Klingenschmitt, 1972, pp. 102-107).

40. Note also the Book Pahlavi spelling of, for instance, the learned word *gēt(y)* < Av. *gaēθīia*- as **gytydy* (cf. MacKenzie, 1971, pp. xiv, 36).

41. The umlaut in *weh*, *deh*, and *ēr* seems to be of later date and may in part be the result of analogy.

makes it possible to assume that Middle Persian **sth*- in *abesth*- "to be cut off, destroyed" represents **siθja*- < **sidiā*-⁴² and Book Pahlavi *ških*- "to be broken" **škaḥja*- < **škadiā*-.

8. The passive of the causative in Middle Persian

I take this opportunity to remark on some Middle Persian causative-passive pairs. Note that the passive in *-th*- of causatives and denominatives corresponds to active forms in *-ēn*- < e.g., *paydāg-ēn*- "to reveal" ~ *paydāg-th*- "to be revealed"⁴³ and the *Psalter* forms just cited.

Here I would like to draw attention to a few such pairs in Manichean Middle Persian the exact meanings of which have not yet been properly appreciated:

z'yn- "to cause to be born, to give birth to" ~ *z'yh*- "to be caused to be born, to be given birth to," cf.:

Boyce, *Reader*, text cb 3 *āwōn tō-iz mād hē dōšāramtgar kē ... zāyēnē fraزندān ... u-šān parwarē*

"Thus you, too, are a loving mother, who by ... give birth to children ... and raise (them) ..."

BT 4, lines 511-514 *awēšān zōrān kē ōy zamān hān zahag zāyēnād harwispan wazurg šādū bād*

"Those powers, who at that time had caused that child to be born, were all extremely happy."

BT 4, line 2004-2006 *pad wāngān zindagān ... ud pad gōwišnān rōšnān zāyihēnd*

"And by means of living calls ... and light speeches they are caused to bear (to be born?) again."

'ystyn- "to make stand" > *'ystyh*- "to be made to stand, place," not a mere doublet of *'ysr*- "to stand."⁴⁴

Šāb. cosm., lines 68-71, 87-91 *ud ērdom āsmān abar sar ud pad dast-iš ... taskerb haft istūn andar istēnād; ... ud andar čahār kišwar frēstag čahār ... istēnād*

"And he placed the nethermost heaven on (its) head and seven square columns in its hand(s) ... and in the four continents he placed (made stand) four angels ..."

Boyce, *Reader*, text cb 1 *sārūr istāytdag ī istūhēd nišān ī ba'ān rōšnān*

"Praised leader, who is placed (as) the sign of the light gods" (?).

Kaw, text g, line 80 [*nē* *āšmān istūhēnd*

42. Cf. Nyberg, 1974, pp. 24, 282). Nyberg, however, assumes a general development of intervocalic *y* > *h* in Book Pahlavi.

43. Nyberg, 1974, p. 282.

44. Cf. Henning, 1943, p. 61 n. 13.

"[Not that they] are placed(?) in the skies" (Henning, 1943, p. 61)

by(y)n- "to frighten (away)" > byyh- "to be frightened (away)" < *by- "to fear"(?), cf.:

BT 4, lines 864-866 *druxšān kē aziš rahēnd kū rasēnd ziyān kunēnd, dā ka *bayūhēnd*
 "The demonesses who escape from it, wherever they come, cause harm, until they are frightened (away)."

BT 4, lines 873-876 *frēstagān dēwān *bayēnēnd (bynynd), kū rasēnd draxt ud dāmān wizēnd kunēnd*

"The angels frighten⁴⁵ the demons (away): wherever they come they cause damage to trees and (living) creatures."⁴⁶

Note also Manichean Middle Persian *dānīh-*:

MM ii, p. 7 [298] *ud hamgōnag asāg ud asāmān anāgth ī dušox az sāgōmand ud sāmānōmand anāgth ī pad gērtg wēnthēd dānīhēd ku ast*

"And similarly, the innumerable and limitless evil of hell—from the numerable and limited evil which is seen in the world it is (made) known that it exists."

Cf. the use of *dānēn-* "to make known" in the Pahlavi Avesta (Y. 31.17, 50.1), where it glosses *azdēn-* "to make known."

9. The third singular present subjunctive in Parthian

In my original interpretation of the Parthian forms *ahāz* and *ahād* I went along—uncritically—with the accepted classification of the form *ahād* as either imperfect or subjunctive. A renewed survey of the examples, however, shows that there is no compelling reason for interpreting *ahād* as imperfect in any of its attestations, and all of them admit of the interpretation as subjunctive, as shown by the following list of all the occurrences known to me.⁴⁷

Subjunctive = future in main clauses

BT 4, lines 2047-49 *andēšēd kū kadām [žamān] ahād kaš hō āxrāw društ bawāh kū pad hamag tanbār društ ud abēdard bawāh*

45. W. Sundermann translates *bynynd* as "fesseln"; the word is not in his glossary p. 120.

46. Alternately, with Sundermann, *byyh-* "to be chased away" < *bē* "out, away." A different word is *byn-* (**benn-* "to bind" < **bandaya-*) in Kaw, text e, lines 116-117 *čōn āhungar [kē wxad] bennēd ud wxad wišāhēd* "like a blacksmith [who] binds and loosens" (Henning, 1943, p. 62); Sundermann, 1979, pp. 777-87 *u-š Mihryazd bennād pad hōn bann īg hōstīgān* "then Mihryazd will bind him in a strong prison."

47. On the uses of the subjunctive in Middle Persian and Parthian see Brunner, 1977, pp. 201-05.

"He reflects: When will it be that the itch will be healed, so that he will be healthy and painless in the entire body?"

BT 4, lines 2055 *čē žamān ahād kaš ...*

"What time will it be that ..."

BT 11, lines 1593-96 *ašyān *Mihršāh [ō] frēstag wāxt kū andar wahišt kē tō nām barēh awāyōn bōšistān ahād čwāyōn im man bōšistān*

"Then Mihršāh said to the apostle: Will there be in paradise a garden such as this garden of mine?"

MM iii, text b, lines 207-211 *bēž ōh zānāh kū ēwiž abzīrwānag nē ahād kē āmuxtāg až kadag āsēd bēž rōž rōž āmuxešēd*

"But know that there will never be [rather than: there has never been] anyone who comes from the house (of the teacher) (fully) educated; instead he learns (something new) every day."

Subjunctive in relative clauses

BBB, lines 281-6 *kē pad wisp šahr marz ud pādgoš ast ahēnd kē pad bay rōšn zāwar ud žrtft wāwartft ahād pad kirbag kirdagān ašyād bawēnd*

"... who are (to be found) in every land, marsh, and province, who(ever) may have faith in the power and wisdom of the light god, (they) are commemorated for pious deeds."

BT 11, lines 1754-61 *[nē?]-iž imīn panj *trān kašāž andar im zādmurā windād karēnd, bēž kē farrox ud ... -ag ahād, ud imīn [ardāw?] jft padyrwāh ...*

"[Nor] will they ever be able to find these five things in this (cycle of) birth (and) death, but he who may be fortunate and ... and accepts these *righteous ones ..."

Sermon, paragraph 54 (58, [63], 73, 76) *kē *buxtagft až andar kišt ahād*

"(Those) in whom victory (etc.) may be sown ..."

Bema, lines 446-8 *kū-m āstār hirzāh čē-m winašt ahād* "Forgive me the sin I may have committed!"

MM iii, text b lines 44-45 *ast *žamān [kad ...] pawāg ahād k[...]* "There is a time [when? ...] will be pure."

The only example in which analysis of *ahād* as past tense might seem preferable is the following:

BT 11, lines 1928-29 *zānām kū Dārāw puhr bōγ windād ahād*

"I know that the son of Dārāw had found salvation."

But even here we may compare the Middle Persian example (introduction to a letter) given by Brunner (p. 201):

BBB, lines 13-18 *harw kē en mizdagtāzī az man padīrīft hād ud o en āfrāh ud kīrbag kīrdagān t-m-iš nizist hunsand būd hād*

"... everyone who may have received (= receives) this gospel from me and may become contented in these doctrines and pious works which I taught him ..."

Here the past subjunctive is clearly a future perfect (*acceperit, fuerit*), and, although one would not expect the form to be used in a main clause, it does not seem impossible that the sentence in BT 11 should be rendered as "I know that the son of Dārāw will have found [*invenerit*] salvation." On the other hand it is possible that the missing letters should be restored differently, and the sentence can at any rate not be used as a certain counterexample.

This subjunctive form is found in the inscriptions, as well, where it is written HWYt, with final *t*. As the normal form of the 3rd singular subjunctive in the inscriptions is in *-d*, i.e., /ð/, I think the easiest way to explain the final *-t* /-d/ of the subjunctive of "to be" as reflecting the primary ending *-ti*, as seen in Old Persian *ahaty* > **āt* > **ād*. The examples are the following:

ŠKZ Parth. 29-30 quoted above.

NPi 3-4/3

Mid. Pers. [...] *kunān* (OBYDWNn) *u-m ka xwēš dastkerd oštīgān...* *want kunān* (OBYDWNn)

Parth. *ud ... dastkerd karān* (OBDWn) *u-m [...] oštīgān kerd ahād* (OBDt HWYt) *ašyān ... [...]*

"And I shall make ... (my) property. And when I (will) have made ... (my) property, then I shall destroy ..."

NPi 5/4 Mid. Pers. HWE = Parth. HWYt

NPi 37/34

Mid. Pers. [... *kē ādā*] *g hād* (HWE) *šahr dāštan ...*

Parth. *kū šahr ud pādgoš [...]* *ahād* (HWYt) *šahr dīrdan* (? HHSNm) *ud framādan* "so that [he may be Lord of?] the Realm and (its various) districts [who] will be able to keep and govern the realm."

NPi 39/36 Parth. [...] *hō kē pad yazdān rāš-kerdagān ... hujnarāwand ahād* (HWYt) "he who will perform the most correct services for the gods and be virtuous."

NPi 39/37 Parth. *anf-tān keč hamyōnag nē būd* [kē ...] *yazdān *pargasād ahād* (HWYt) "nobody else has been similar to you [whom] the god may have favored ..."

The form HWYt seems to be used for the homonymous 2nd plural subjunctive **ahād*, as well:

NPi 42/39 Parth. *ašmāh bay masišt ud fraḍar ahād* (HWYt)

"you, the majesty, will be the greatest and the best."

48. See Humbach-Skjærvø, 1983, pt. 3.1, p. 99, where the forms need to be reclassified.

I have expressed my ideas about the origin of the Middle Persian and Parthian verbal heterograms elsewhere. The above interpretation of Middle Persian HWYTN and Parthian HWE as imperfects are in perfect agreement with the derivation of Middle Persian HWYTN from Aramaic *hwy-t-n*(') "I was"⁴⁹ and Parthian HWE from Aramaic *hwh* "he was."

10. MacKenzie's interpretation of the inscription of Abnūn.

MacKenzie (1993)⁵⁰ argues that the inscription is "both grammatically and orthographically ... badly composed." To this I would like to make the following remarks.

The inscription of Abnūn is in my interpretation grammatically and orthographically irreproachable. Only in MacKenzie's interpretation are the grammar and the spelling hopelessly corrupt. The inscriptional corpus from the 3rd century is very limited, and all the inscriptions (Ardašēr, Šābuhr, Kerdūr, and Narseh) originate from the court or, in the case of Kerdūr, somebody closely connected with the court. They were, therefore, probably written by courtly scribes. Abnūn used scribes accustomed to slightly different scribal conventions, as we see from the use of *AP* for *W*. It should be kept in mind that most of the words in Abnūn's inscription are found in the other inscriptions with the same spelling.

The fact that the inscription has no archaizing spellings, such as *g'sy* for *g'hy* (as I noted in my article), does not necessarily mean that it contains no archaic forms. As a matter of fact the inscription does contain the spelling *prmr* (= Aramaic and Parthian spelling of this word), which is archaic in comparison with *prmu'r* in ŠKZ. Even *nhw'l'n*, if this is the correct reading, does not prove anything, as the spelling *nswb'l-* is only known from Book Pahlavi and we do not know how the word was spelled in the 3rd century.

1. 3: MacKenzie reads *plm'd(t)* "he would say" for *plm'dyn* but comments "The verb looks like *plm'dyn*."⁵¹
1. 10: MacKenzie transliterates *OŠMEN(!)* for *OŠMEN*. It is true that the Paikuli inscriptions contains the form *OŠTENd*, indicating a heterogram *OŠTEN-*, but the inscription of Šābuhr II at Persepolis has *APŠ LHMA BYN LZNE BYTA OŠTE* (*u-š nān andar im xān(ag) xward*) "and he ate a meal in this house."⁵²
1. 11: MacKenzie reads *ANE ... p{t}t(w)yh(t)* and transcribes **man ... *paywahitd* for *ANE ... p't(w)yhyn* and comments: "ANE must of necessity be read as the agent form ... wrong as this spelling is."⁵³

49. Skjærvø 1986, p. 437.

50. The author kindly sent me a copy of the manuscript of this article. [MacKenzie 1993, p. 106].

51. Livshits-Nikitin, 1991, p. 41, read *plm'dyn*, transcribe *framdyn*, and apparently translate "carrying the orders."

52. It is useless to speculate whether *OŠTENd* should be read as *OŠTEND*, like *HWEND*, for which I have also proposed a reading *HWEND* (cf. Parthian *HWYN*). As the letter *E* was originally confined to final position (see Harper-Skjærvø forthcoming), *OŠME* and *OŠTE* were probably the original forms.

53. Livshits-Nikitin, 1991, p. 41, read *p'twyhyn*, which is impossible (*lapsus*?).

1. 13: MacKenzie transcribes the sentence as *hlwm'dyn MHYTN APšn SLYr OBYDWN* /**Hrōmāyān zad u-šān watar kard*/ and translates it as "the Romans are smitten and worsted" instead of "strikes (down) the Romans and worsts them" (cf. ll. 15-16 *hlwm'dy YHMTWN [H](WEnd) AP šhpwhry ZY MLKAN MLKA MHYTN HW(End) APš SLYr kly [HWEnd]*) and comments: "The plural marker of /Hrōmāyān/ was occasioned by its lack in the verb, in contrast to ... where /Hrōmāy/ concords with the marked 3rd pl. verb." Needless to say, there is no evidence in the inscriptions that the choice of the form of the noun with the "plural marker" was dictated by the lack of a "plural marker" on the verb.
1. 14: MacKenzie's interpretation of *ADYN hyl'n* as /*ēg *an hīlān*/ with an (orthographically, at least) enclitic subject pronoun *-an* speaks for itself.
1. 17: MacKenzie interprets *YTYBWN* as infinitive **nišastan*. The preterite of this verb is written *YTYBWNst* in other inscriptions, which would lead us to expect an infinitive **YTYBWNsm*. The only other heterographic infinitive in the inscriptions is *YDBHWNtm*. [MacKenzie (1993), p. 108] dismisses my reading *YHMTWN* in 1. 12 as "impossible", stating that "the second letter is undoubtedly an A, not H". As a matter of fact, the letter in question is almost identical with the *H* in the preceding *AHR* (fig. 8-a) and quite different from the just preceding 'in *hlwm'dy*.]

11. The Parthian inscription on the Heracles statue

Several articles have already been devoted to this inscription, most recently by Lipiński (1993), and I would only like to draw attention to the distribution of the heterograms with final *-w* and final *-t*:⁵⁴

mtrdt MLKA MN TME MRDPW

W hmk myšn AHDW

W ZNE ptkr wrtrgn ALHA ME MN myšn HYTt nyknđn B tyry bgry HQAYMW

"He drove out king Mišrdāt from there, and he seized all of Mēšān, and he placed the statue of the god Warθrayn, which he had brought from Mēšān (as) a *precious offering,⁵⁵ in the temple of Tīr."

Here we see clearly that the forms in *-w*, that is, forms from the present stem and presumably imperfects, are used for the sequential narrative, while the one form in *-t*, that is

54. See Skjærvø 1986, pp. 431-35.

55. All previous editors and commentators have taken this to be the infinitive **nikandan*, corresponding to Old Persian **nikantantāy*. By the orthographic rules of early Parthian, however, this can only be **nikān-dān*, with *nikān/nigān* "treasure" + *dān* "place" or "gift." In the Parthian inscriptions Old Iranian *-nt-* is usually kept; only rarely (and late?) do we find it written *-nd-* (*pnđ* instead of **pnt* in the Paikuli inscription < **panāh*). For *-dn* /*-dān*/, cf. **pdn* /**pādn*/ in the Nisa documents.

a "simple preterite" (= past participle), is used to describe an action viewed as completed at the time of the main action.

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Plate 1



A. plm'dyn (BAI 3, p. 32 Fig. 3)



B. plm't (BAI 3, p. 32 Fig. 2)



C. p't(w)hyhyn (BAI 3, p. 32 Fig. 1)



D. (hlwm)'dyn (BAI 3, p. 33 Fig. 5-b)



E. YATWN (BAI 3, p. 37 Fig. 13)



F. YTYBWN'n (BAI 3, p. 33 Fig. 5-b)



G. AMT (BAI 3, p. 34 Fig. 8-a)

THE DOUBLE NEGATION IN THE EARLIEST UPANIṢADS AND IN THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHICAL BHĀṢYA

Jean-Marie Verpoorten, Université de Liège

§ 1.- When you read the Indian rules of logic worked out by Gautama and their commentaries (*the Nyāya-bhāṣya* of Pakṣilasvāmin Vātsyāyana and the *Nyāya-vārttika* of Uddyotakara), or the ritual treatise (*Bhāṣya*) on of Śabara, you are struck by the great number of negations and the action they have on the uttering of the thought. The pages below are an attempt to check how far these negative devices are already present in the *Upaniṣads*.

Thirteen of these latter have been reviewed, namely the *Brhadāranyaka-*, *Chāndogya-* and *Mahānārāyaṇa-up.*, the largest ones; the *Āitareya-*, *Taittirīya-*, *Praśna-*, *Kena-*, *Īśa-*, *Kaṭha-*, *Mundaka-*, and *Māṇḍūkya-up.* (notably shorter); the *Maitri-* and *Śvetāśvatara-up.* (comparatively late inside the group).

Between the earliest *Up.* (the first three above) and the beginnings of the philosophical *Bhāṣya*, there is a span of time of 800 or even 1000 years. (500 B.C.?–300/500 C.E.?)

I. The *Upaniṣads*

§ 2.- The syntax of the *Up.* is loose. These texts are mainly made up of praises and prayers. Therein we do not examine the phrases containing just one negation, but those with two of them, namely the negation *na* plus a privative term beginning with the prefix *a-* (an- before a vowel) or incidentally *nih-/vi-*.¹

The privative term can be:

- an adjective, occasionally used substantively, contrasted with its positive form occurring in the close context or also inserted in a series. Exx. *asādhū* "not good" (*ChU* II 1 1); *anādimat* "beginningless" (*ŚvetU* IV 4) etc,
- a noun. Exx. *ahimsā* "refusal to do harm" (*ChU* III 17 4); *aloluparva* "steadiness" (*ŚvetU* II 13),²

1. The exx. below are borrowed from the handy work of S. Radhakrishnan, *The principal Upaniṣads*, Ed. with Intr., Text, Translation and Notes, London-N.Y., 1974. As to the *Mh̥NU* of minor importance, I used the ed.-French tr. of J. Varenne, 2 voll., Publ. de l'Inst. de Civilisation Indienne, fasc.11, Paris 1960. Some translations too from R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu Scriptures*, London, 1966. - The texts below partly drop the sandhi rules in order to make the privatives more easily recognizable.

2. Sometimes, the privative word ends up with the suffix *-ka* that emphasizes its adjectival character, e.g. *alomaka* "without hair, hairless" (*BĀU* I 4 6), *adhūmaka* "without smoke, smokeless" (*KaṭhaU* II 1 13). Compare with *nirindhana* "without fuel" (*MaitrU* VI 34).

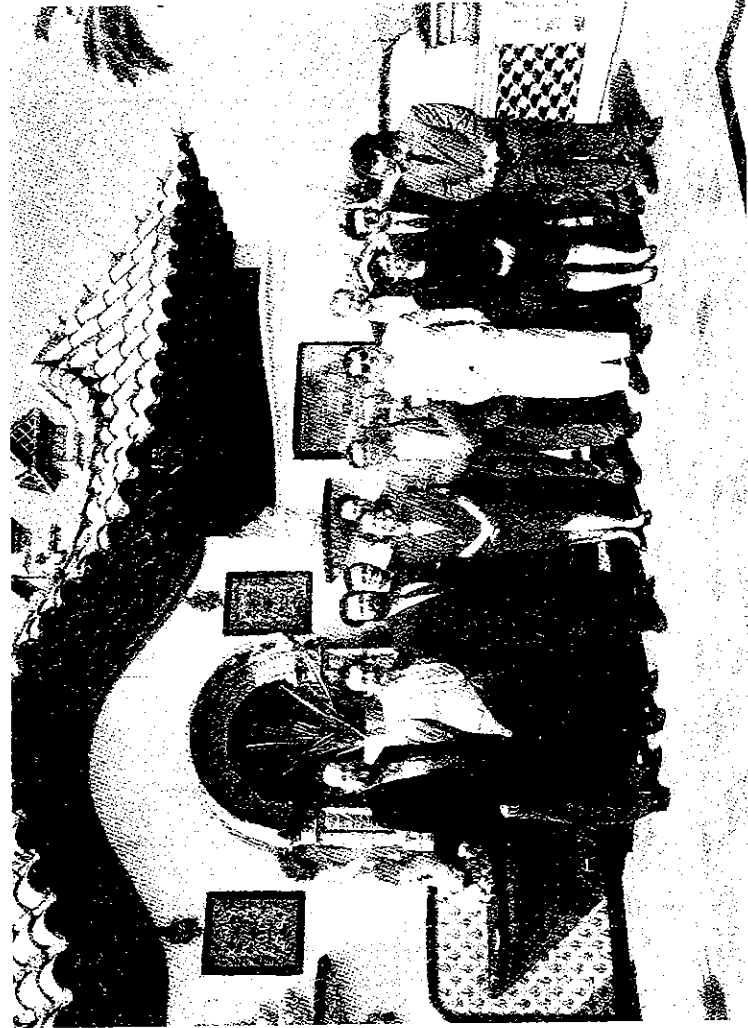
AVANT-PROPOS

Sans doute n'y avait-il guère plus de différence entre la langue du Mède Dîocès, celle du Perse Téispès et celle de l'Indien Sudās qu'entre la valencien et la catalan central. Le lexique, la morphologie et la syntaxe ne devaient pas avoir divergé à partir du proto-indo-iranien au point de rendre abscons chacun des dialectes aux oreilles des locuteurs des autres, mais, pour nous, les zones d'ombre dans l'analyse de la syntaxe des dialectes indo-iraniens anciens et de leurs prolongements médiévaux sont encore nombreuses.

Les organisateurs du Colloque international de Sitge (Palau Maricel, les 4 et 5 mai 1993)¹ n'avaient d'autres prétentions que celle de favoriser le progrès des connaissances en la matière, mais aussi celle de faire renaître les études d'indo-iranologie ancienne à Barcelone. L'Institut Interuniversitaire d'Études du Proche Orient Ancien exprime sa profonde reconnaissance aux participants du colloque pour leur contribution, leur patience et leur amabilité.

É. Pirart

¹. Organisé avec l'aide du Ministère espagnol de l'Éducation et de la Science, de la Généralité de Catalogne et de l'Université de Barcelone.



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